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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

●721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

721 I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
682 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Leloba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

614 Then we started to work on the social organi-
621 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, p. 113--Analyst]

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

[727] The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

War

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was being played for a prize. One team was called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells on the rear which jingled as they danced with a jigging step. It looked and sounded just like American Indians at a powwow, except that the dress was different. In addition, they yelled from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-shaped parrier which is quite long and looks like a bunch of rattans tied together. The whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance, and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used such costumes in war formerly. They also used shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs too were especially like a cheering section which kept up a chant from time to time answering the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The fighting seemed formalized, and they danced around jingling and kept this up until they were ready to close in. Then even the approach was formalized. As soom as a blow was made the attacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup. It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with whips.

1 [i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai Analyst]

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721 555 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan, a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] 634 273 537 609 We took photographs, and one of them was of the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that the dancers were hot inside too. He made what seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 582 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.rt.116 --Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

324 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

482 Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

302 Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [266] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually against the coastal folk on the north, that is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still I note that they don't like to sleep all night outside the kampong. This is especially true of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the local kampong in the world: In just about every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of world countries in population, they do not know what to say (although a young boy knew that China was the largest), but at once the assistant and others get paper and copy down the exact ranking from me with figures. They evidently want to spring the question on other people and stick them. It does show a definite curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of the animals killed. And they eat together. They pledge that they will not war against each other and that they will show a certain degree of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I didn't find out if there are any survivals. I think there are, because the guru from Ndona said that it is easy for him to live in Waturoga as his kampong had a bond with it. In addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

621 Wa call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

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goat; and buffalo?). During other months they may eat such food. This figures out to be roughly about one half of the year. Some of the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we were finishing up the work he got a note telling him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
●721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed.
Another cause was molesting a child if done
by a neighboring kampong. There were also
radja wars, in which the people served, but
this was involved in high politics. Finally,
there were also the early wars against the ab-
origines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
takes over this function). When a new korke is
built, if the six posts do not fit into the
rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are
not happy because they are in need of food, so
they are pledged food. Formerly the people
then went out and got a head and hung it in
the korke. Then everything was all right.
Note that nowadays at such rites they give food
to the posts. For example, yesterday they
smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke
must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called
sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that
genealogical relationship is nearly everything
here. It shows also why descent is the basis
for the whole organization of power, etc., and
why marriage rules are so complex and strongly
held to. There have even been marriage rela-
tions with Riang Kemié, although they have not
been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

War

000 Radja's kampong.

●721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
●721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

Wo.
584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
●724 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one
534 has the better it is for him. A man feels big
556 if his family is large. It is fine to have
857 twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

• 721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

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721 789 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] [554] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky. As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 178 165 758 The average size of the family here is about eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 368 178 Women do most of the upbringing. The father, for example, just looks on once in awhile. The mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 178] There has been no significant change in the concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 152 The only great fear in the old days was warfare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 438 There are a few women who come here to buy and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

● 721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 274, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
●721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the left-overs of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.
681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-